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**SOUTH - NORTH MIGRATION:
A CHALLENGE FOR MEDITERRANEAN BASIN SECURITY**

BY

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ABSTRACT

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"Mare Nostrum": A puzzle of societies looking over the common sea from both sides forming a specific region that brought about health and wealth for all people living on the seaside. Today the societal gap between both sides of the Mediterranean Sea is huge while the narrowest point between the two worlds is only 14 kilometers. (Gibraltar strait). The prospective of the current situation might be a massive migration from the southern bank to North. This social trend trying to fill the gap between the two worlds is becoming a serious challenge for the security and stability of the region.

Description: Paper will get through the implications on the stability of the region of the increasing immigration in Europe from the Maghreb. The main question will be if military would be involved in the problem and the consequences of this involvement in the future of the region.

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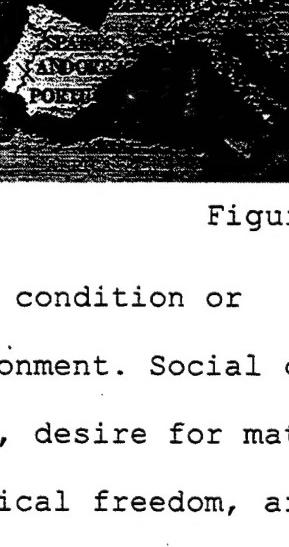
IMMIGRATION PROCESS.

Definitions

Latin *immigrâre*, *immigrât-*, to go into in-, + *migrâre*, to depart. To enter and settle in a country or region to which one is not native.

Im·mi·grant. A person who leaves one country to settle permanently in another.¹

Migration, movement of people, especially whole groups, from one place, region, or country to another, particularly with the intention of making permanent settlement in a new location. A group of people may migrate in response to the lure of a more favorable region or because of some adverse condition or combination of conditions in the home environment. Social causes, such as population increases, defeat in war, desire for material gain, and the search for religious or political freedom, are generally considered to have prompted many more migrations than natural causes.



Immigration into Europe. Why is a strategic issue?

Immigration has emerged as a powerful political issue throughout all of Western Europe during the past decade. Indeed, in ways that were unexpected just a few years ago, every aspect of political life has been touched by the issue of immigration. This new balance has influenced policy changes as governments



Figure 1

have attempted to deal with the challenges that threaten understandings and agreements which have existed for decades. The emergence of the issue of immigration has influenced the way in which European governments perceive and deal with such diverse problems as economic growth and change, social policy, security, and the political construction of Europe.

The growing income gap, as well as high rates of population growth in the Third World countries, has encouraged migration towards the developed world. Thus immigration push has intensified, and has challenged the ability of countries in Western Europe to control their frontiers.

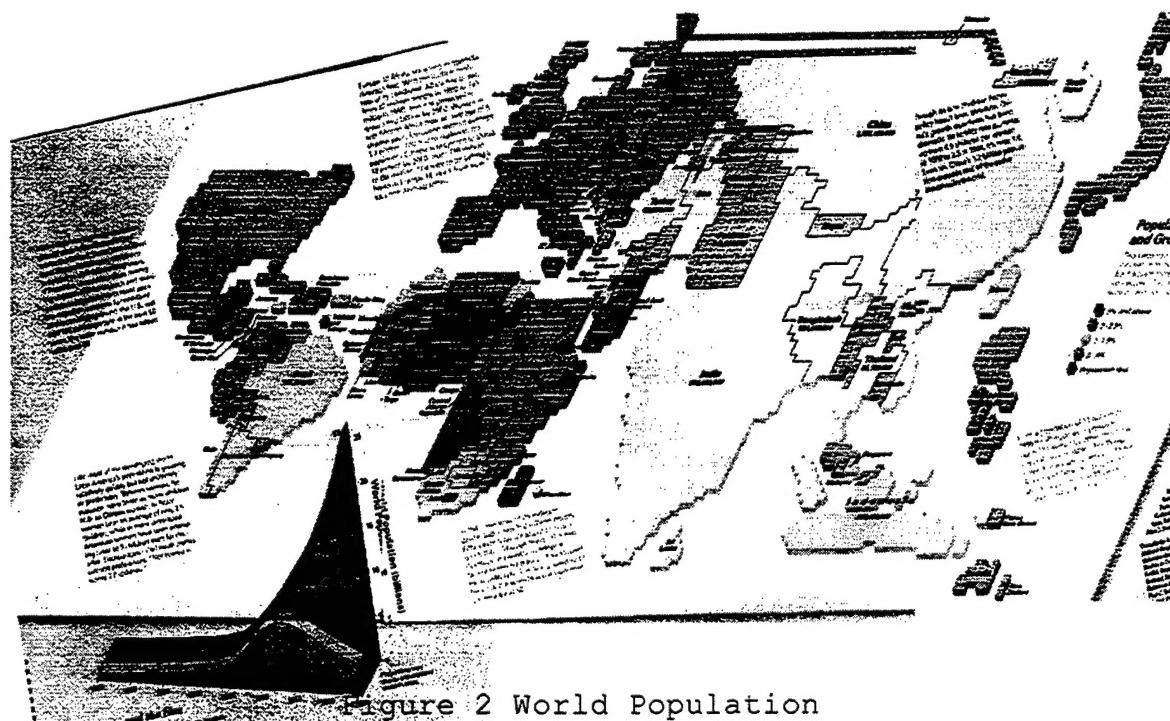


Figure 2 World Population

"Mare Nostrum" the Mediterranean basin.

In order to understand some of the key concepts developed further below, it is necessary to look back at Mediterranean history.

Many centuries ago, the North African littoral was an extension of European culture. In the third century North Africa was incorporated into the Roman Empire. When Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, North Africa became integrated into the larger unity of Roman Europe by culture, values and beliefs. The Mediterranean sea at that time was truly "Mare Nostrum", a maritime highway connecting culturally similar communities on the Southern European and northern African coasts. Then in the seventh century, Islam spread throughout North Africa and Europe. As a result language, religion and culture no longer united North Africa and Europe. The Mediterranean could no longer be described as our sea, rather it became one of the world's great cultural barriers, marking the frontier between the Greco-Latin Christian culture of Europe and the Arabic Muslim culture of North Africa. After the colonization period in Africa, the emergence of North African political identity does not necessarily imply a perpetuation of rivalry with the West. Nevertheless there are some trends which suggest that North Africa continues to be a region the West cannot afford to ignore.

Migration South North "push" and "pulls".

One hundred years of migration research has identified three major factors that influence economically-motivated international migration. They are:

- Demand-pull factors that draw migrants into another country
- Supply-push factors that encourage migrants to leave their own countries.
- Networks of friends and relatives already settled in destination countries who serve as sources of information and anchor communities for newcomers.

Demography is the cornerstone issue to understand the migration phenomena in the Mediterranean basin. The population growth in North Africa is unprecedented ranging from 3.6% to 6.5%. This may be compared to rates of growth in Europe, which range from 1.3% to 1.8%. The population in North Africa in the year 2000 will exceed that of the Europe 270 million to 200 million, and by the year 2025 the figures will approach a 2:1 ratio in favor of the south, 370 million to 200 million. Looking at the Maghreb, the population is very young about 43% is under 15 years old and its life expectancy is between 62-65 years. In Europe life expectancy is one of the highest in the world (74-78) years and 20% of its population is over 60. There are signs that the European demographic condition is one of population implosion, while the Maghreb is in the population explosion

stage. Despite GNP growth of over 5%, economic growth did not match with the population growth, resulting in unemployment and low levels of food self-sufficiency all along the Maghreb. In addition to that the North African countries are vulnerable environmentally. The endemic water scarcity is a major problem worsened by the continuing population increase. That tendency might lead states to import food to feed their populations and provoke a wave of environmental refugees. The last "push" for the Magrhebian population is the lack of political freedom, continuous human right violations and limited social freedom, especially for women. There is no doubt that if some Magrhebian country government were transformed into an Islamic regime there would be a massive exodus towards the countries on the north side of the region.

The "pulls" are mainly supported by the contrasted images of European comfort and affluence on their TV sets with their poverty and struggle of daily life. The Western media is without doubt a major catalyst to migration.

Another factor which exerts a migratory "pull" is the existence of already established immigrant communities. Those communities represent an invisible migration network that offer several services to the newcomers. They range from financial assistance, to provision of information about the labor market. It is reinforced by the reunification of the family, which banning European governments from banning that immigration which involves sensitive and basic human rights.

Finally it is today evident that the main destination countries of illegal immigration to Europe are Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal. Changes in the economy of these former countries of emigration have expanded their demand for unskilled labor. Since the mid-1980s there has been an increase in the demand for labor areas not attractive for the native population, mainly in the service sector. These of course, are the leading migration countries of the 1950s/1960s.

The general economic conditions have led to an underground economy with opportunities for illegal immigrants. A major limitation concerning studies of the black labor market is lack of reliable data. The authorities in Spain, Italy and France have several times in recent years introduced regularization measures to register illegal immigrants and encourage them to become



Figure 3 Nation of Migrants

regular citizens without penalties. It is difficult to assess the

scale of illegal immigration. Some estimates come from the response to past programs and amnesties. Other minimal indications come from apprehensions and deportations. Of the 2.5 million foreign population of the three countries above about 20% are believed to be illegal immigrants. Most of the immigrants are from the Maghreb. Estimates of the illegal inflows into the EU made by informed international sources range from 350,000 to 500,000 per year.

Several factors are contributing to maximize the problem: Tougher economic conditions often tempt employers to hire illegally; distance between Spain and Morocco in the Gibraltar straight and changes of "modus operandi" of the Moroccan drug trafficking Mafia using the same infrastructure to carry illegal immigrants through the Gibraltar strait.

Conclusions.

The refugee flows and the irregular immigration from the South are likely to continue.

The Maghreb area has so far played a special role in irregular immigration and will probably continue to do so.

There is some possibility that a truly massive immigration will occur. Civil strife, environmental degradation and other natural disasters in their countries of origin might cause a dramatic increase of migrants.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Migration in today's world

Current events and interpretations suggest that the world in the late 20th century may be entering into an era where South-North migration is trans-cultural, trans-civilizational, and increasingly consequential for receiving societies in the advanced industrial West and for contemporary international relations.

The current world system is based on sovereign states. That means territoriality, legitimate control of exclusive enclaves. In an increasingly interdependent world this norm of jurisdiction is going out of fashion. A "nation of migrants"² who can claim no right to any of the territories walled off by a world still formed by a state-centric paradigm, is growing quickly. Those facts lead us to consider that if the migrant population keeps growing in numbers as in the last couple of years the current norm of exclusive correspondence between nations and sovereign territory traditionally perceived as nation states is rapidly giving way to multinational states. Taking into account the conclusions of the first chapter, we can expect the migration numbers to go up. That statement must be a reasonable cause of concern for policy makers in receiving countries. Up to now it has become increasingly apparent that individual national government acting by themselves are not able to deal with migration effectively. Therefore migration must be considered as

global phenomena and be addressed by supranational entities such as the EU.

European Union policy.

EU receiving countries have long maintained that they are not immigration countries, and their political objectives has been to stabilize inflows, to limit long-term stays, to discourage permanent residence and to constrain citizenship and its prerogatives. The framework of the application of that migration policy was the individual national government. While northern countries in Europe have been constructing elaborate compromises within the EU in regards to immigration, southern European countries have been trying to construct their own immigration policies. However, the process of European integration has inevitably led to pressure for the development of European Community policy in the area of immigration.

Illegal immigration.

The EU recently launched Operations Odysseus, a Brussels-based operation to combat illegal immigration that involves police in all 15 European countries. The EU estimates that there are eight million non-European nationals among the 350 million EU residents and that 10 percent, or 800,000 are illegally present. While the measures to conduct a coherent internal immigration policy have been working fairly well since the Schengen treaty in 1985. Schengen members are (Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Italy and Greece); illegal immigration is still an issue of major concern. On September 15

1997, the European Union's Schengen members announced a plan to tighten border controls, fingerprint all illegal foreigners detained, and increase penalties on employers who hire unauthorized workers. That plan imposed a burden on southern European countries, which had to reinforce their police strength in the frontier areas of the Union. Spain went far in that commitment involving Spanish military in border control of its North African enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla. Some disagreements among the Schengen members occurred on implementing that plan, mainly concerning the lack of funding.

Immigrants' rights.

The policies of the EU and Schengen have been completely one sided, concentrating on crisis management of migrant flows. These new policies have been developed in the context of long-standing protection of immigrants' rights under both domestic and international laws. Southern Europe does not have this history of immigration protection. The effect of asymmetrical policy creation, which includes the control of immigrants without a corresponding development of immigrants' rights, has been to modernize immigration policy at the cost of dehumanizing it. The burning issue of immigrants' rights has yet to take off in Portugal, Italy or Greece. Even Spain with its new policy may experience a backlash of immigrant anger at exploitation and humiliation.

Conclusions

There is no coherent immigrant policy among EU countries yet. Many complaints have been voiced about the lack of a decisive EU policy in regard of migration. It is of the utmost importance to realize that implementing a strong immigration policy in the EU context may overrun the national sovereignty of some country members who carry the burden as the last frontier of Europe; in other words the guards of the external borders of the Schengen treaty. That is the reason for implementing the immigrant strategy carefully.

Backlash between immigrants and residents is a possibility, which can not be ruled out.

Illegal immigration is still an issue of major concern, which has already involved the Armed Forces of some countries.

The Spanish enclaves in North Africa Ceuta and Melilla are the laboratories where France and Spain, two countries with some interests in North Africa want to check the possibility of co-existence between Europeans and Berbers.

IMMIGRATION QUALITY.

Immigration quantity into Europe has been analyzed in the previous chapters and the places from whence that migration comes. Immigration quality is the next task of this study. North African countries are the places where migration mainly originates. Subsharian countries joined that migration recently, making the problem more complex and bigger. There are several main characteristics that must be addressed in the South-North

migration: culture, ethnicity, and religion. All of those factors should be studied to get a clear picture of the existing relations between the two worlds. The purpose of the next section is to analyze the migration phenomena on different levels. The first will be civilizational, and the second political and societal.

The civilizational level. The Mediterranean sea as a fault line between the Islamic world and Western European culture.

Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and most important religion. The future brings globalization that may have the potential to overcome some differences. Language differences may be overcome by technology such as translators and computers. Modernization encompasses similar ways of working, hobbies, entertainment. Education helps cultures to understand each other.

Modern Islam or Islamization is for many Muslim scholars a reaction against the modernization and globalization process. European countries will share cultural features that distinguish them from Arab countries as Huntington states: Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, rule of law, democracy, the separation of the church and state, often have little resonance in Islamic and another civilizations³.

Eastern European countries present many problems in relation to the immigration phenomenon, but those immigrants may be

integrated in the western culture by taking appropriate measures. Berber immigration, on the contrary, presents complex and unsolved problems. Muslims in general terms refuse to live according to Western norms. They keep their traditions and customs even when they contradict the host country laws. They never relinquish their roots and never loose their links with their country of origin. Berbers still see the Mediterranean basin as the Berber world, including the southern European countries. Some southern cities of Spain are becoming more and more Islamic cities, as they were in the past. Granada Malaga, Cordoba are the best examples where the Islamic intellectual and religious influence can be felt everywhere. Most immigration is Berber. Arabs still are the leaders in the Muslim communities, using the Islamic religion to control the others. Many sub-Saharan countries have become Islamic ones through the Islamization process that Saudi Arabia put into motion all trough Africa several years ago.

Huntington goes on to assert that "Islam has bloody borders".⁴ Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1300 years. After the founding of Islam in the seventh century the Crusades and the Spanish re-conquest that lasted 8 centuries were the most remarkable events related with the relationship between the two civilizations. Culture was exchanged between them, while the religion barrier could not be overcome. Huntington holds the idea that the fault line is running N-S along Eastern Europe.

This line is in the middle of a deep process of social and political transition, where some Eastern European countries are transforming into western civilizations. None of these countries wants to become a transition zone, or a buffer zone for immigration into Western European countries. This situation is a clear disadvantage for those countries trying to join the EU. Moreover, the immigration coming through those countries remains for some time in the transition countries until the immigrants get the authorization or manage to cross the borders. Part of the immigrants prefer staying in these countries forever. All those problems encourage immigration transition countries to aspire to join the EU rapidly.

The Mediterranean sea is the fault line which runs East-West separating North-South worlds. Recent history underlines that statement. The Western civilization became heavily dependent on the oil products of the Persian Gulf region. Western Europe in turn needs North African natural gas resources. France fought a bloody war in Algeria during the 1950s. Middle East brought more confrontations. American forces attacked Libya. During the 1960s and 1970s the Arab countries, including some of North Africa (Libya, Algeria) which, became sources of instability. The culmination was the Gulf War, carried out by a West-lead coalition against Iraq and the further strikes still taking place against Saddam's rule. The aftermath of this current US foreign policy, against Iraq, supported only by some western countries,

has divided international opinion and alienated some Islamic countries.

Mutual dependency might lead to establish closer relationships between the two civilizations as stated above. Nevertheless Western domination of the UN Security Council, the latest events which unfolded without UN approval and the West using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world, might lead in the contrary direction on the relationship between the two civilizations.

Conclusions

At the civilizational level the possibility of a conflict is rather likely. "Violent conflicts between groups in different civilizations are the most likely and most dangerous source of escalation that could lead to global wars"⁵. If the previsions on immigration flows to Europe are accurate and the Western European countries become multinational entities with significant Muslim minorities the clash of civilizations might be intensified.

The Mediterranean is the front line, and the immigrants from the southern side of it risk being seen, and treated, by their European hosts as the vanguard of an ensuing "clash of civilizations".

Eastern European immigration does not represent a severe problem in terms of quality. On the contrary it is considered as a catalyst to the Eastern European country integration into the EU.

The Mediterranean is becoming a kind of Berlin wall, a frontier which is very hard to cross. Europe looks eastward and wants to cut off access from the South.

The political and societal level. A possibility of understanding.

Modern Islam is a reaction against modernization, thus essentially defensive. Most Muslim scholars support that idea and they present Islam as a confrontation between idealism and materialism, religion and secularization, women submission against family alienation.

Within a predominantly Muslim society, identification between state and society can occur, (and often does), in which Islam is the only religion, which has governmental sanction. Those countries tend to become autocracies, as is the case with most countries in North Africa. That does not imply that those countries are fundamentalists. On the contrary states, as Morocco and Tunisia are not ruled by political Islam. Countries as those cited above are compatible with democracy. The best example is Morocco where a democratic process has been running steadily since 1997. That kind of democracy will take of course a long time to become a liberal democracy. Islamic democracies may occur, democracy itself and Islam are not mutually exclusive. Having said that the question is whether such democracies would fight each other. It is often argued that liberal democracies never fought each other at least in the modern era. In any case democratization is the first step to avoid conflicts.

Conclusions

There is a hope based on the movement of some Arabic countries toward democracy to avoid confrontations between African countries, which could result in a massive migration to Europe.

Democracies in the Arab world will hardly become liberal democracies-more likely; those democratic countries will seek their own political system whiting the Islamic world.

IMMIGRATION AND SECURITY. RISK ANALYSIS.

The Post Cold War era has brought a wider security concept. It does not only include military threats but political, economic, social and environmental threats. Those threats affect not only states but also groups and individuals. Having said that security may be concerned with preserving any number of possible values, ranging from the territorial integrity of the state to the cleanliness of water supply.

In order to find out whether South-North migration is affecting and will affect European Security, it is necessary to look back and review all aspects of the immigration, which could affect security.

Political Security

There are three main effects brought about by immigration that may affect the internal and foreign policy of the receiving countries:

Native people in the receiving countries may react against immigration and support extremist right wing parties. Those parties such as the North League in Italy and National Front in France have indeed profited from that tendency. The governments of those countries harden their policies against immigration, which in turn affects relationships with the sending countries. That chain of reaction influences internal and foreign policy provoking some destabilization. In other countries as Spain, that reaction is felt at the local level or autonomy level, where some concentration of migrants occurs and local policy reflects better the willingness of native people. The best examples are Ceuta and Melilla.

The current European migration policy is to look eastward while creating a Berlin Wall on the Mediterranean sea to block the South-North migration. The implementation of a European immigration policy more restrictive than Spanish policy on such communities brought about some turmoil among the Magrebian immigrants and residents. That is the cause of the serious incidents that occurred in 1985 in those Spanish autonomies between Berbers and Europeans. The aftermath was the naturalization of most of the Berbers living illegally in those cities and the shifts of the illegal immigration phenomena through the Gibraltar straight.

North African immigrants may participate politically within the host countries as a pressure group, an important role that might influence internal and foreign policy. In terms of

migration quality Berbers are supporting Socialist parties and building up their own parties with the characteristics of Islamic communities, which better represent their aspirations. Foreign policy in the receiving countries is affected by those pressure groups as well, often restricting the host government's room for maneuver. "The unrest manifest among a number of Muslim groups (including the Maghrebians) during the Gulf War, and the French and British governments' unease over this domestic instability as a result of their participation in the alliance against Iraq, is a portent sign of this potential threat"⁶. Up to now those pressure groups may be regarded as unthreatening politically, or at least more than any other pressure groups acting in the realm of foreign policy can be seen as such.

Economic Security.

Both legal and illegal immigration takes jobs unwanted by the European natives, despite the high percentage of jobless in Southern European countries. The ongoing trend in Western countries is to reduce the ongoing unemployment rate in the next future. Therefore, immigration is not a threat to economic Security in terms of the labor market. On the contrary, immigration is filling unwanted but necessary jobs.

Another aspect is the fact that most of the European countries enjoy an efficient welfare system that might be overcharged by the immigrants. Some studies have demonstrated that the immigrants bring more income and produce more wealth than they receive from the host state. The only problem is the illegal

immigration and the fraud to the Social Security system that comes with this type of immigration. While all immigrants manage to get medical assistance from the Social Security system in many cases for humanitarian reasons, neither their employers nor the illegal employees pay for the assistance. Illegal immigration represents a burden on the Social Security system although the problem is still manageable in scope due to the low percentage of illegal immigration. Nevertheless, the tendency is to increase the numbers of irregular immigration. That might eventually collapse the welfare system that is already running with some difficulties. European Governments are attempting to reform the welfare state into a more liberal system. That process will take long time particularly in the Southern European countries with high percentages of jobless. Illegal immigration may represent a threat to the economic security. The immigration policy is one of the most sensitive political issues among European countries. No country is willing to uncover the migration policy.

Societal Security and the challenge to National Identity.

The rise of identity politics throughout western societies and the increasing anxiety felt over the strength and preservation of national identities can be seen as an early warning signal of impending crisis.⁷ Contemporary migration into Europe involves large numbers of culturally and ethnically distinct people at a time when culture and ethnicity are increasingly contentious issues.

European countries are abandoning a focus upon the sovereign state in favor of smaller communities as autonomies at the lower level, which in turn are integrating into supranational institutions such as the EU at the higher level. This ongoing process is occurring at different speed in Western European countries, depending upon the strength of their internal links.

Mediterranean history suggests the problems involved in the relationship between Western European countries and Islam. Following the Huntington theory, a clash of civilizations is definitely possible.

The Mediterranean is the front line, and the immigrants from the southern side of it risk being seen, and treated, by their European hosts as the vanguard of an ensuing "clash of civilizations".

Quantity and quality aspects of immigration are the elements of a hypothetical confrontation between European natives and Maghrebi immigrants.

In terms of quantity is difficult to assess when a receiving society feels itself to be threatened by a number of immigrants. Traditional receiving countries as France have more capability to assimilate larger numbers of immigrants than Southern European countries with less tradition on that issue. It depends on how much power right wing parties hold in these societies as well. In terms of quality, integration is the essential question. In previous chapters, we have analyzed the relationship between Islam and Western European countries, which have been more often

based on confrontation than on understanding through history. Moreover integration means that immigrants have to adjust to, and accept the language, customs and values of the receiving countries. That is something that did not happen among Magrebian communities already settled in Europe. They would be accepted and integrated at least by the second generation. That is the reason for keeping the two Spanish enclaves in Africa as laboratories where the capacity of integration of Berber communities into modern society has been monitored. Racism is the current manifestation of those unsolved problems. Therefore, racism is one of potential source of social unrest. In some European countries, racism is an open issue, which encompasses direct actions against Maghrebians, discrimination, and the rise of extremist right wing political parties. In others as Spain, the situation includes a few incidents of physical assault directed against immigrants. This phenomenon in Spain is due to two main reasons: a current low rate of immigrant population and the fact that Nationalist parties in the autonomous regions have taken over the potential constituencies of the Right Wing parties. Some North African countries such as Morocco and Tunisia are complaining of the treatment received by their population in European countries.

Finally, Muslims on the other side of the Mediterranean basin feel threatened by Western culture. Modern Islam is a reaction against modernization.

The current state of European society is that of a deep crisis aggravated by a kind of immigration that more than ever is felt as a real threat to identity. The transition of the European countries to a post-modern society made by multinational communities which in turn will be integrated in supranational entities might occur together with a considerable amount of turmoil if the ongoing trend of immigration rates keeps growing.

Military Security. Terrorism .

There is no danger of conventional warfare being waged by immigrants against the state. There is, however, the threat of terrorism, which in its direct use of physical force represents a military threat which at least may involve police forces. Due to the kind of immigration, which belongs to the Muslim world, the possibility of terrorism acts perpetrated by some Maghrebi immigrants is rather likely. The common image of Islam as the source of all evils that affect Maghrebi immigration is spread all through Western Europe. A closer study reveals that Islam is a religion, which in turn is a kind of philosophy, as occurs with most other religions. In this case, modern Islam is a reaction to modernization but primarily in the societal realm, it does not encompass any kind of terrorism. Fundamentalism is a radicalization of this philosophy, which mixes politics and religion. Politics are submitted to the goals of the Islam religion, which include the goal of spreading this religion all through the world no matter the means used to achieve the aims. The strength of Fundamentalism is found above all in poor

societies such as those described in this study. Intellectuals of this "modus vivendi" come from different social status but in general they are well educated Muslims, scholars and University students.

Terrorism is one of the means often used to achieve their goals. Europe constitutes a refuge for many Islamic Fundamentalist groups mainly from Algeria. Those groups represent a clear threat to European security. The main activities of those groups are: terrorist actions in Europe and Maghreb, contraband of guns and explosives. There is an increase in the number of illegal immigrants in South European countries who are terrorists in their native countries. Finally France and Spain are working together to uncover the links existing between the Maghrebi immigrants already settled in those countries and radical Muslim groups. The lethality of radical Muslim terrorism is an important aspect of its prominence in western perceptions.

North African countries are in a precarious situation. Morocco has economic problems and its king Hassan II has launched a democratic process will last several years. In the meantime the Sahara conflict has not been solved yet and the King's succession is still an enigma that involves too many issues that might lead the country into a conflict. Algeria is debating between a civil war and a fundamentalist regime. Tunisia is under pressure from Libya and fighting against an increasing Islamic Fundamentalism brought by radical Palestinian groups. Despite the efforts of the International community and particularly the EU, there is a real

possibility that a Fundamentalist government might come to power in one of those countries. This would provoke a flood of refugees into Western Europe, especially given the increasingly restrictive asylum laws now being introduced by the states of the EU. Some prominent European experts think that if any of the states of the region fell to a Fundamentalist movement it would produce a "domino effect".

Migrants from the Maghreb are mainly Berbers who present some additional problems regarding security. Berbers see the Mediterranean basin as their original territory constrained by Europeans on the north and Arabs on the south. Despite the existence of many tribes, most of which are pacific, some of them have the perception of being a nation overruled by the two ethnic groups mentioned above. Some Berbers belong to the Mafia dealing with illegal migration and drugs. As there is no clear evidence to relate radical Muslim terrorism with the Mafia but this relation is very common in other terrorist groups. A possible outcome would be the creation some groups capable enough to defy their governments and pose a serious threat to European security. Moreover, most of the African countries are plagued with a majority of unemployed youth, with threats of war on their borders, inequitable land distribution and agricultural density, continuous and disastrous droughts, and disproportionate armed forces. Those factors are clear signs of a societal infrastructure ready to go war or at least to produce millions of migrants.

SECURITY STRATEGY.

In order to provide a general framework where the proposed strategy may be implemented, this study is based on the following assumptions:

The EU is the political level where all general guidance originates. Therefore all tools and strategies should be used within this framework.

All countries belonging to the EU would implement the strategies with some specifics differences based on their geographical position regarding the Mediterranean sea.

Diplomatic tools.

Another goals to create forums such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean (CSCM), similar to the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe OSCE. The latter forum has a long history of success, due to its nature as an open organization for all countries in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian areas without exception and the wide range of matters addressed. Nowadays only Southern European countries are pushing ahead in this issue because they feel directly threatened by South-North migration. The best example is the "5+5 Group" (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Malta, plus Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Morocco, Libya). This initiative was the result of a French proposal tabled during the Marrakech conference of 1991. In 1995 the I CSCM was held in Barcelona including all EU countries and UMA (Union Maghreb Arab), countries, Arab league, in total 29 countries. Libya, Malta and Balkan countries did not

attend. The second European Mediterranean conference was held in Valletta Malta 15 and 16 April 1997. Some common declarations were released to the media but not dramatic advances were achieved. The next conference will be held in Germany in the first semester of 1999.

Some of the members such as Spain look upon themselves as the southern frontier of Europe. Unfortunately, the Maghreb Union, which includes all cited North African countries, is not running properly. The proposal is to create an expanded forum with the participation of all members of the EU and all members of the Maghreb Union. The main subject to be addressed in that forum is all matters concerning common security.

Economic tools

Europe must look for confidence building measures which might modify or neutralize the societal security dilemma. One of the most effective measures is cooperation, which brings benefits to the two counterparts. By recognizing economic interdependence, natural resources and unskilled labor force may be matched to fill unwanted jobs in Europe on the Maghrebian side and manufacture products, financial investment and technology on the European side.

Informational tools

A proactive media campaign may be utilized to neutralize the tendency of governments to equate Islam and Islamic

Fundamentalism. The differences between them should be clearly explained to a wide audience. Even Fundamentalism is not directed primarily against European countries but rather against Muslim societies.

It is also necessary to identify the terrorist groups who are able to threaten European security and explain to the public what they want. --

Additionally, an effort should be made to dissipate fear among native Europeans of the number of illegal immigrants coming into Europe. This implies more transparency in the information being released to the press, avoiding speculation and propaganda.

Internal policy.

Coordination of immigration laws and customs practices are two key issues of the Europe being constructed. Setting yearly immigration quotas according to the needs of the European market and society may avoid economic and societal turmoil in the receiving countries while helping the sending countries to release accumulating demographic pressure.

The Schengen treaty was considerably augmented cooperation among all signatory countries on migration issues. To the extent that EU policy is implemented, immigration policy will be better coordinated.

It is necessary to design policies, which help Southern European countries to overcome the expenditures and the diversion

of some resources to support their new roll as the guardians of the Southern frontier of Europe.

Military Strategy.

Illegal immigration from the Maghreb involves Mafia from both sides of the Mediterranean sea, which have been including in their illegal business the transportation of aliens from the North African countries to South Europe mainly through the Gibraltar strait. Those mafias are using drug trafficking channels to move illegal immigrants into Europe. In previous chapters, we have discussed the importance of illegal immigration and the drug trafficking coming from the Maghreb. Those illegal activities in conjunction have overwhelmed the capacity of the police forces of some Southern European countries to deal effectively with the problem. One example is the current Spanish Army deployment along the frontiers of the two Spanish enclaves in North Africa (Ceuta and Melilla). The armed forces of the South European countries should support the police forces in their efforts to deal with the Mafia.

There is a real need to confront the possibility of a massive migration from the south and to limit the power of the criminal bandit groups who might jeopardize the sovereignty and integrity of the North African and European countries. If European migration policy continuous looking Eastwards and walling off the Maghrebians the outcome might be an important increase in the already existing pressure on the ability of the North African governments to rule their own countries.

The EU's North African migration policy for the next century requires a military dimension.

The context where that strategic tool should be implemented is the first area of concern. NATO would be the best framework to develop a military strategy, but NATO is at present concerned with WMD proliferation in the North Africa region. NATO does not see the migration phenomenon as a military risk; therefore, it is unrealistic to expect NATO to act forcefully. The treaty requires no collective defense action when interests are threatened but not subjected to military attack.

The WEU therefore becomes the most appropriate multilateral forum available to manage crisis. The WEU is still building up its infrastructure but there are some forces with a state of readiness able to confront the menace.

A preemptive strategy must be designed to confront the possibility of a North African country in crisis unable to control its migration or to control its own territory.

Military cooperation with those countries to strength and educate the military who are the only institution able to safeguard the sovereignty of their countries is essential. The European CJTF concept already developed by NATO, which potentially allows limited intervention, by coalition of peacekeepers in crisis together with the participation of the native forces is also promising. All types of MOOTW (military operations other than war) are the most probable military operations conducted by the CJTF.

A true partnership between the WEU and non-member countries would be the last step towards an alliance in the long term.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Microsoft Bookshelf 98.
- ² Immigration into Western Societies. Problems and Policy.
- ³ Huntington, 1993^a:40
- ⁴ Huntington, 1993^a:32
- ⁵ Huntington, 1993^a:43
- ⁶ Dov Waxman, 1997^a:15, Immigration and Identity
- ⁷ Dov Vaxman, 1997^a:20

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